



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

ZUÑI GAMES

By MATILDA COXE STEVENSON

INTRODUCTION

By enlightened people games are associated with sport and recreation. Among some primitive peoples games are played primarily for divination, but the ceremonial games of the Zuñi are for rain, and they constitute an important element in their religion and sociology. They are not played in a haphazard way; each game has its regulations and limitations, and there is deep meaning underlying all Zuñi games supposed to have come to them from their gods.

The games (*ikoshnawe*) here recorded embrace all that are of importance, but do not include the essentially children's games. While the youngsters have a variety of sports exclusively their own, they may be found any pleasant day enjoying some of the games of their elders, and, like their elders, they indulge in betting, for this habit is developed in the North American Indian while he is still in his infancy. The younger Zuñi children play the ceremonial games, however, with but little or no understanding of the occultism associated with them.

Aside from personal observations of the games, the writer's investigations have been through the Ah'shiwanni (rain priests), elder and younger brother Bow-priests, personators of the Kóyemshi (certain anthropomorphic gods), and theurgists. As the elder and younger brother Bow-priests are the earthly representatives of the Gods of War, they are supposed to be infallible in regard to all things associated with these deities.

The sages of Zuñi claim that the first eight of the seventeen games mentioned herein belong to the Gods of War, who were great gamesters. Of the remainder, one, they claim, was originated by the Zuñi, four are the games of the Kóyemshi, one was adopted from the Navaho, and three came from Mexico. The games are as follows:

1, *Tikwanē*, pl. *Tikwawē* (Foot-race). 2, *Shóliwe* (Arrow reeds). 3, *Íankolo'we*. 4, *Hä'poännē pihl'kwanawē*. 5, *Saia'hlät'awe* ("Horns kill," or Killing the Rabbit). 6, *Shówiältowe*. 7, *Lápo-chiwe*. 8, *Hö'kämonné*. 9, *Pó'kiännawe* (Jackrabbits hit). 10, *'Síkon-yä'munë tikwanē*. 11, *'Käsh'tuwíwi*. 12, *Yáclboni 'sáwa'ka* (Ring-around-a-rosy). 13, *Póponē* (Ball). 14, *Tá-sholiwe* (Wood reeds). 15, *Póponē 'kápnanē* (Ball hit). 16, *Tän'kalawē* (Quoits). 17, *Awe 'hlacnawē* (Stones kill).

There are but two exclusively religious games of *tikwawē* played annually. In one, members of the *kiwi'siwe* (chambers dedicated to anthropomorphic worship) play, and in the other the clans take part. Both of these races are for rains to water the earth that the crops may grow. They take place some days previous to corn planting, which usually occurs from the tenth to the fifteenth day of May.

Other games of *tikwawē* may occur at any time when not forbidden by the retreat of the Ah'shiwanni for rain.¹

TÍKWANÉ RACE OF THE KÍWI'SIWE

The Ah'pi'läshiwanni (Bow priesthood), or warriors, convene at the full moon of April and remain in session throughout the night. On the following morning they prepare *télikyináwe* (prayer-plumes). These offerings to the Gods of War are deposited at noon the same day at a shrine north of the village. This shrine is on the ground supposed to have been occupied as the home of the Gods of War during their stay at Ítiwanna (the site of the present Zuñi). The other prayer-plumes are made into five *'káetchiwe* (sing. *'káetchiné*) or groups of *télikyináwe* bound together at the base. The sticks of four groups are colored black and are offerings to the deceased members of the Ah'pi'läshiwanni.

¹ *Tikwanē* has been described by Mr F. W. Hodge in the *American Anthropologist* for July, 1890, and also by the late Mr John G. Owens, in connection with other games, in the *Popular Science Monthly* for May, 1891. Mr Owens remarks, referring to *tikwanē*: "This game was described by Mr F. W. Hodge in the *Anthropologist* for July, 1890. I have thought it well to repeat it here in connection with other games, and also to make some corrections and add several points which Mr Hodge seems to have overlooked." Mr Owens, however, labors under as great confusion as Mr Hodge. Though both of these gentlemen have visited Zuñi, where it is presumed they collected the data for their articles, their descriptions are incomplete and in a measure misleading, since they fail to give a systematic account of *tikwanē* as it is played under varying conditions.

The '*káetchiwe*' are deposited at midnight on the four sides of the village by such members of the Ah'pi'¹läshiwanni as may be designated by the elder brother Bow-priest, or director of the organization, in excavations carefully concealed by stone ledges, set in plaster, which extend along the exterior of houses, furnishing seats for those who like to sit out in the balmy afternoon of a New Mexican winter or to enjoy the cool breezes after sunset in summer time. These ledges are identical with those before many other Zuñi dwellings. The depositors of the plumes know just which slab to remove in order to have access to the depository. The fifth group consists of two *télikyináwe*, one of which is dotted with the various colors for the zenith, the other is black to represent the nadir. These are offerings to the Sä'lämobia, certain warrior gods of the zenith and the nadir. This group is planted in an excavation, also concealed by a slab seat, on the west side of Síáátewita or sacred dance plaza. After the placing of the *télikyináwe* the Ah'pi'¹läshiwanni continue their songs and ceremonies in the ceremonial chamber until sunrise, and soon afterward the elder brother Bow-priest announces from a house-top that the people of the *kiwi'siwe* will run in four days.

The director of each *kiwi'sina* (pl. *kiwi'siwe*) gives formal notice to his people,¹ and the young men who wish to take part in the race appear at the appointed time. Those from the *Héiwa* (north), *Hékapawa* (nadir), and *Chíparwa* (south) *kiwi'siwe* represent the side of the elder God of War, while those from the *Mühe'wa* (west), *Óhe'wa* (east), and *Úpsänárwa* (zenith) *kiwi'siwe* represent the side of the younger God of War. After an early breakfast (the runners having exercised before the meal), nothing more is eaten during the day but crushed *héwe* (wafer-like bread) in water.

In the afternoon the first body of Ah'shiwanni² (the elder brother Bow-priest being also Rain-priest of the nadir) proceed about a

¹ Every male receives involuntary and voluntary initiation into the Kótikili, a fraternity associated with anthropomorphic worship, becoming allied with one of the six *kiwi'siwe*.

² The writer designates the Ah'shiwanni of the six regions, whose prototypes are the members of the Council of the Gods, as the first body of Ah'shiwanni. There are a number of other Ah'shiwanni in Zuñi.

mile south of the village, over the road leading to the present "home" of the Gods of War, and here the elder brother Bow-priest lays upon the ground a *láshowané* (one or more plumes tied together), composed of two upper wing-feathers of a bird called *shó'kápisó*,¹ and the younger brother Bow-priest places a similar *láshowané* on the ground and west of the other, the distance between the two *láshowave* being the length of the extended arms from finger tip to finger tip. The Ah'shiwanni group west and the Ah'pi"läшиwanni east of the plumes; the elder brother Bow-priest standing with his fellows of the Ah'pi"läшиwanni, the younger

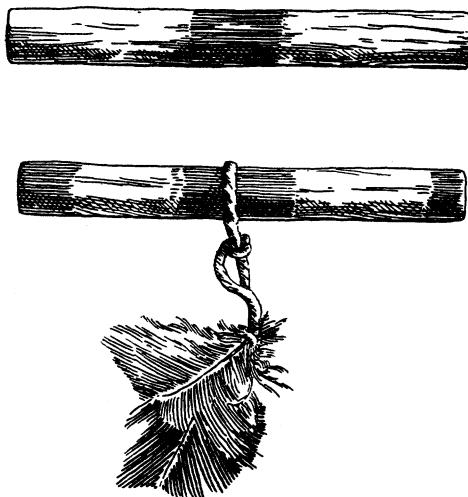


FIG. 13.—*Tikwawe* of the Bow-priests. (The plumes are attached only when the *tikwawe* are made as offerings to the Gods of War.)

brother Bow-priest with the Ah'shiwanni. A line is made south of the plumes by drawing, or rather pushing, the foot over the earth from west to east.

Six members of the Ah'pi"läшиwanni selected by the elder brother Bow-priest have each a *tikwané* made by himself. Three of the *tikwawe* are colored black at either end and midway, indicating

¹ A bird, as the Zuni say, which flies but never tires. The writer failed to obtain a specimen, but she is quite sure it is a species of hawk.

the sticks of the elder God of War ; and three are painted black midway only for those of the younger God of War (figure 13).¹

The six warriors, clad only in breechcloths, stand by the line, the one at the east end having the *tikwanē* of the elder God of War, the man at the right having that of the younger God of War, and so they alternate down the line.

Each warrior places his right foot on the line and the stick across the foot near the toes ; he then sprinkles meal upon the stick and prays for rain and for success in the race. The Ah'shiwanni also sprinkle meal and pray for rain. In the meantime the runners gather at the base, which is south of the pueblo and just across the river which flows by the village.

The racers (the number is not limited) wear only kilts, and the long hair is drawn back and tucked into the headkerchief, or *banda*, at the back, the hair being brought over the band and tucked in from the top. A member of the Bow-priesthood marks off the line on the earth, similar to the one described, upon which the runners take position, facing south. The warrior who stands some feet beyond the line carries a bow and arrows in his left hand and an arrow in his right. He directs the runners in the course they are to take, and, facing east, prays and sprinkles meal eastward. The meal is thrown four times, the fourth being the signal for the start. No word is spoken. The course is south to the group of Ah'shiwanni and Ah'pi'läshiwanni—a course that must never be deviated from in these races, as this is the road of the Gods of War. On reaching the body awaiting them, each runner passes between the two *láshowarwe* previously described. Bending and extending his hands toward the plumes, he brings his hands to his mouth and draws in a breath from the plumes, that he may run like the *shō'tkapiso*, which flies but never tires. The runners do not halt, but pass right on. Each Pi'läshiwanni in the line calls out the name of the *kiwi'sina* he represents as he kicks the *tikwanē* into the air. The runners of each *kiwi'sina* at once look to their appropriate sticks. They are followed by the first body of Ah'shi-

¹ Both Mr Hodge and Mr Owens say that these *tikwave* are placed on the trail three or four days previous to the race. It would certainly be very difficult to find these bits of wood after four days on a trail frequented not only by men but by burros and other beasts.

wanni and Ah'pi'läshiwanni, except the elder and younger brother Bow-priests. The Ah'shiwanni and Ah'pi'läshiwanni, however, do not attempt to keep pace with the runners, who move in a circuit, but return instead to the *láshowawe*, which are guarded by the elder and younger brother Bow-priests, passing between the latter and on to the village.

The *tikwave* are kicked into the river, to go to Kó'hluwaláwa (abiding place of the Council of the Gods), and the runners hasten to their homes. The ceremony of washing the hair of the runners occurs before the race and also on the morning after the race.

The younger brother Bow-priest makes an excavation the depth of his arm, and the two *láshowawe* are deposited therein, with prayers by the elder and younger brother Bow-priests to the *iwannami* (rain-makers) for rains. These two now proceed to the base, where the large crowd gathered to greet the returning runners still remains.

At this point the elder brother Bow-priest cries out that the *ä'notiwe* (clans) will run in four days.

The race of the *ä'notiwe* may occur simultaneously at one or more of the farming districts, where most of the Zuñi at this season are gathered. It also takes place in Zuñi, provided a Pi'läshiwanni is present to start the racers. The observances previous to the race of the *ä'notiwe* are much the same as those for the race of the *kiwi'sive*. A member of each clan makes the *tikwané* to be used by the racers of his clan, and he is free to select that of either one of the Gods of War. The runners dress as on the previous occasion, and their hair is done up in the same manner. The clan symbol is painted on the breast of each runner, and that of the paternal clan is painted on the back. Those of the Pichikwe (*Cornus stolonifera*) clan have a conventional design of the dogwood, including the roots, on the breast, and below a macaw or raven with the head pointing to the left, according to the division of the clan to which the man belongs.¹

¹The writer adopted Cushing's translation "Pichikwe (macaw)," until a more familiar acquaintance with the Zuñi tongue led her to make closer investigation concerning the word. The division of the Pichikwe clan is what leads the student into error, yet one familiar with the language should readily see that *pichikwe* comes from *pichiko*,

The Pi'läшиwanni makes a line near the river bank, south of the village, by drawing or pushing his foot over the earth, as has been described, and the runners stand upon the line, facing south, each clan being together, the runner at the west end of the line placing the *tikwané* across his foot, as before noted. The Pi'läшиwanni stands in advance of the runners, and, facing east, prays and throws the meal four times eastward, the fourth time, as before, being the signal for starting. The same course is followed as that pursued by the people of the *kiwi'siwe*. Each of these races covers only about four miles.

No thought of betting is in the Zuñi mind when these races for rains occur. While deep interest is exhibited by the women as well as by the men in these purely religious races, the real enthusiasm occurs at the time of the betting races, when about twenty-five miles are covered.

The betting race is not confined to the *kiwi'siwe*, nor to any section of the village, although statements to the contrary have been made. A man approaches another with his plan for a race, and if it be acceptable to the other a race is arranged for. It is heralded from the house-top by a civil officer of the village, who shouts, "Tomorrow there will be a race!" Those to be associated with the race gather at the houses of the two managers. The swiftest runners are sure to be present. After some discussion the originator of the race visits the house of the other manager and learns from him how many runners he will have in the contest. He then returns to his house and selects the same number for his side. The number varies from three to six on a side, one side representing the elder, the other the younger God of War.

Each manager calls at the house of one of the first body of Ah'shiwanni — those of the north and the zenith excepted — and announces, "My boys will run tomorrow. You will come to my house tonight." The friends of each party gather at the two

dogwood; *kwe*, plural ending, reference being to a people or body of people. The Macaw division is of no greater consequence in the religious world of the Zuñi than that of the raven. It is the clan, and not the division of the clan, which is of importance. An explanation of this division will be found in "The Esoteric and Exoteric Life of the Zuñi," to be published in the *Twenty-third Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

houses, the runners being on one side of the room, the friends on the opposite side. When the Shiwanni (sing. for Ah'shiwanni) bearing a basket tray of broken *héwe* arrives, he takes his seat on his wadded blanket, the manager sitting opposite to him. The Shiwanni places the basket upon the floor and asks for corn-husks. Preparing as many husks as there are runners for the side, he sprinkles prayer-meal into each husk, and, after adding bits of white shell and turkis beads, folds it and lays it on the *héwe* in the tray. Raising the tray with both hands to his face, he prays for success, and, drawing four breaths from the contents of the tray, says, "Si" ("Ready"). The runners approach, the Shiwanni deposits a handful of broken *héwe* from the tray into the blanket supported by the left arm of each runner, and hands a corn-husk package to each. The body of runners who represent the elder God of War goes to a point north of the village; the other goes south. An excavation the depth of an arm is made by an ancient corn-planter at each point, when each runner opens his husk package, deposits the contents in the excavation, and drops in the *héwe* as offerings to the Gods of War and the ancestors. The one who prepares the earth to receive the offerings covers the opening, leaving no trace of the excavation.

All now sit perfectly still and listen for sounds from the departed. When they hear any noise which they suppose comes from the dead, they are gratified, and say, "*Ellakwa, nána*" ("Thanks, grandfather").

After walking a short distance they halt and wait again for some manifestation. Should they hear a few notes from the mockingbird, they know the race will be in favor first of one side and then of the other—uncertain until the end. If the bird sings much, they will meet with failure. If they hear an owl hoot, the race will be theirs.

The runners return to the houses which they left and retire for the remainder of the night in the large room, the family having withdrawn to another apartment. Sometimes a runner goes to an arroyo and deposits offerings of precious beads to the Gods of War, or to a locality where some renowned runner of the past was killed by an enemy, and, after offering food to the Gods of War with a

prayer for success in the race, he sits and eagerly listens for some sound from the deceased. After a time he moves a short distance and listens again. He then moves a third time and listens, and if he hears anything from the dead he is quite sure of success. If he hears the whistling of the wind he is also likely to meet with success, and if he hears an owl hoot his success is assured. In this event he imitates the owl during the race, which annoys the opposite side, for they know the reason for the owl-like cries.

At sunrise each runner carries a corn-husk containing bits of precious beads and meal a distance from the village and sprinkles the offering to the *uwannam pi'lashiwanni* (deceased members of the Bow-priesthood) of the six regions, for success.

It is the custom for the runners to exercise for the race in the early morning, returning to the houses of the managers where they eat a hearty breakfast; but they must not drink coffee, as this draught distends the stomach. After this early meal nothing is partaken except a small quantity of wafer-bread and water. They remain at the managers' houses until the hour for the race.

By afternoon the betting and excitement have increased until every available object of the bettors is placed in Téwita 'hlánnna (the large plaza). Crowds gather around the managers, who are busy looking after the stakes. Everything is wagered, from a silver button to a fine blanket. Yards of calico are brought out, silver belts and precious beads; in fact, all the possessions of many are staked, especially those of the old gamblers, who, having lost heavily in the gambling den, hope to regain their fortunes.

The objects are stacked in two heaps in Téwita 'hlánnna, the two managers having charge of arranging the articles. A blanket from one heap finds its counterpart in the other, and the two are placed together, forming the base of a third pile. Drawing in this way from the two piles is continued until they are consolidated into one great heap. Much of the forepart of the afternoon is consumed in this work. When the managers return to their houses and announce to the runners that the task of arranging the stakes is completed, the latter remove their clothing and, after donning a kilt of white cotton or some other light material, take medicine of the Shúmakwe fraternity in their mouths, eject it into their hands, and

rub their entire bodies that they may not be made tired from running. A piece of humming-bird "medicine,"¹ consisting of a root, is passed around; each runner takes a bite, and, after chewing it, ejects it into his hands and rubs his body, that he may be swift like the bird.

The hair is brought forward and a Pi'läshiwanni forms a long knob by folding the hair over and over and wrapping it with yarn; he then places an arrowpoint in the knot, to insure fleetness; and lifting ashes with two eagle wing plumes, he passes them down either side of the body of each racer and sprinkles ashes to the six regions. This is for physical purification.

Medicine is sometimes put into the paint used on the *tikwanē*, which for the betting races is painted red instead of black; and a bit of this paint is slipped under the nail of the index finger of the right hand. If a runner is observed to keep his thumb pressed to his finger, it is known that he has medicine under the nail, and those making the discovery are apt to bet high on that side, for they believe the medicine will bring success. Failure in such cases is attributed to the "bad heart" of the runner.

The wives of the two Ah'shiwanni who are present on the previous night go each to the house visited by the husband and remain while the runners are absent. Several parcels, including two blankets, are removed from the heap in the plaza and carried to each house and deposited beside the woman for good luck to the runner.

The runners are accompanied to their base by their managers and Ah'pi'läshiwanni. Crowds gather. Every man who can obtain a horse is mounted. All is excitement, the women's enthusiasm being almost equal to that of the men, for each wife is interested in the side her husband has chosen, and every maiden is interested in the side of her favorite admirer. While the men gather about the runners as they prepare for the race, and follow them, the women must content themselves in the village.

The two *tikwawe* designating the sides of the elder and the

¹ Mr Owens says in his article on the *tikwanē* race: "This repast of héwe is accompanied by a piece of humming bird, as the flight of that bird is so very swift." This is another illustration of the danger of error in more or less hurried work.

younger God of War are made by the Pi“läshiwanni of the side of the second manager and are carried by a runner of this party to the base, where he holds the sticks out to the opposite side, one of the party taking the *tikwanē* of his choice. The racers do not form in regular line. Each leader places the stick across his foot near the toes and sprinkles it with meal; they then cry out “Si!” (“Ready!”). The stick must not be touched with the hand after it is placed on the foot. It is often thrown a long distance, and no matter where it may rest it must be managed with the foot. There is nothing more exciting to the Zuñi, except the scalp dance, than this game of *tikwanē*. The equestrians urge their ponies onward to keep pace with the racers, who run southward over the road of the Gods of War for a distance, then around to the east, crossing the river. On they go, keeping to the foot-hills.¹ Recrossing the river several miles west of Zuñi, they bend around to the east, and return by the southern road to the base, when the members of the successful party vie with one another in reaching the great plaza, for he who is first to pass around the heap of wagered articles is the hero of the hour. As they run around this pool they extend their hands toward it and, bringing them to their mouths, draw in a breath and pass on to the house of the manager whence they started, where the victor deposits the *tikwanē* of his side in a basket of prayer-meal, while all present make offerings of bits of precious beads in the basket.

The wife of the Shiwanni takes the hands of the victor and, standing, brings her clasped hands four times before his mouth. Each time he draws a breath. The waving of the hands four times is repeated before each runner, who draws as many breaths.

After the prayers the victor empties the contents of the basket,

¹ There are six stone-heaps which direct the runners in their course. These monuments, which are some four feet high, are supposed to have been made by direction of the Gods of War and are distinct from those made by men and women who whirl a stone or bit of wood around the head in the left hand, from left to right, four times, and throw it over the shoulder on to the heap, that the fatigue which would otherwise come to the body may be cast into the stone or chip. The words expressed are “*Hlon yúte’chi hánasima tñatu*” (This place tired, unlucky, be settled). These mounds are supposed to have been begun by the Gods of War. Vases containing medicine of these gods are believed to be buried beneath the mounds, though these objects are too sacred to be commonly referred to.

which includes the meal and bead offerings and the *tikwanē*, into a corn-husk, and carries it to his home. After each runner returns to his home he drinks a quantity of warm water as an emetic, and when relieved he retires for the night. It is not uncommon for a runner to be so affected by the race that the manipulations of a masseuse (the Zuñi are experts in this practice) are necessary to restore him. The following morning the head of each runner is washed in yucca suds, and he bathes. After the morning meal the *tikwanē* of the Elder God of War is deposited, with the contents of the corn-husk carried by the runner from his manager's house, at a shrine on Úhana-yäl'lannē (Wool mountain), while the *tikwanē* of the younger God of War and the other offerings are deposited on Tówa-yäl'lannē (Corn mountain).

The most prominent religious positions do not debar men from taking part in these betting races. One of the fleetest as well as most enthusiastic runners of the present time is the *kómosona* (director general) of the *kiwi'siwe*.

There are many informal games of *tikwanē* in which young men hurriedly gather for sport, and sometimes a considerable stake is raised. One race observed by the writer, in which great enthusiasm was exhibited, began at five o'clock in the afternoon, the parties returning after seven. There were three racers on a side, the *kómosona* being one, but he lost on this occasion.

While there is much betting and considerable interest is manifested in these informal races, there is no ceremony associated with them. Each runner bets on his side. Outside parties bet with one another, one holding the stakes; or more frequently a third party has charge of the stakes, which are heaped in the large plaza. Sometimes the articles are afterward carried to the *kiwi'sina* to which the successful party belongs, while again they pass to the winner in the plaza, he in turn dividing the profits among the runners of his side. While much interest prevails at the informal races, and great enjoyment is derived from them, the excitement is as nothing compared with that of the more formal affairs.

It is interesting to see the very young boys in their foot-races (plate XLVIII) and to observe how closely they follow their elders in the rules governing the stakes. Wagers are always made,

as the races would be of little interest to the younger boys without the element of chance associated with them.

Beginning at so early an age, there is no wonder that these people develop into the swiftest of runners. The writer has never known the Zuñi to lose a foot-race with other Indians, nor with the champion runners of the troops at Fort Wingate, who sometimes enter into races with them. It is quite common for the Zuñi and Navaho to race. Though these races are always informal, the stakes are often large, and the Navaho leave their precious beads, silver belts, bridles, and valuable blankets behind when they depart from the pueblo. Their love for gambling prevents them from learning lessons from sad experiences.

SHÓLIWE. (ARROW REEDS.)

Implements.—Four split reeds, measured from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger, the fingers being extended; a bowl-shaped basket, a buckskin, a blanket, bits of pith or the central core of a corn-cob, straws for counters, and chips (usually silver buttons).

The lot game of *shóliwe* is second on the list of the games of the Gods of War, and is the great gambling game of the Zuñi. Legend says that it was played for rains by the Gods of War and the Ah'shiwanni soon after coming to this world. The Ah'shiwanni afterward thought the reeds used for the game were too long, so their length was measured from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger, the fingers extended.

The Ah'shiwanni considered this game so efficacious in bringing rains that they organized a fraternity, which they called Shówekwe (Arrow-reed people), while the Ah'shiwi were at Hän'hlipiñ'ka, for the express purpose of playing the game for rain. Ten men were designated by the Ah'shiwanni as the original members of the Shówekwe. The prayers of this fraternity were sure to bring rains.

When the Kok'ko (anthropomorphic gods), visited Ítiwanna ("Middle Place," the site of the present Zuñi), eight days succeeding the first appearance of 'Käk'lo¹ (an anthropomorphic god) in Ítiwanna, certain ancestral gods gathered in the ceremonial chamber

¹'Käk'lo is described in the forthcoming *Esoteric and Exoteric Life of the Zuñi*.

M. Wright Coll.



ZUNI BOYS CONDUCTING A T KWANÉ RACE

of the '*kákewemosi* (high priest) where the first body of Ah'shiwanni (Rain-priests), the Néwekwe (Galaxy) fraternity, and the ten members of the Shówekwe were assembled. The Kóyemshi at this time gave their songs and prayers to the fraternities present, after which the Néwekwe and Shówekwe alternated annually in personating the Kóyemshi.

The Má'ke 'hlánnakwe (Great Fire) and 'Kóshi'kwe (Cactus) fraternities are more recent adjuncts to the personators of the Kóyemshi. The four fraternities now in turn personate these gods; at least such was the case until the Shówekwe became so degenerated that the *mósona* (director) of the fraternity preferred to choose the personators of the Kóyemshi from the fraternities at large rather than to call on the men of his own fraternity. In fact, the fraternity as it was no longer exists, it having retrograded into a body of professional gamblers which bears no relation whatever to the body organized by the Ah'shiwanni; but the game is played by the Ah'shiwanni and others, in all sacredness, for rain.

The reeds used for ceremonial occasions are rarely brought out at other times. Such reeds are old and are preserved with care, and it is considered a great privilege when one having lost heavily may secure a ceremonial set of *shólíwe* through which to recover his possessions.

The following was related to the writer by a young man, a nephew of a Shiwanni :

" I gambled with *shólíwe* (new ones), and lost beads, blankets, and other things, and in my distress I went to my uncle's house, where an original set of *shólíwe* belonging to the Younger Gods of War is kept. I told him of my trouble and begged him to let me have the precious reeds to play with, in order to win back my valuable articles. I visited my uncle's house the night of the day I lost my things. It was in the month of May. He said, 'Come to me at the winter solstice.' I did as he bade me, going to him at night. He gave me the *shólíwe* and the *klémítutunúni* (rhombus), and two *télikyináwe* which he had prepared for me, the sticks being the length of the middle finger measured on the under side. They were pointed at one end and colored black. A turkey-leg feather, a duck plume, and a wing-feather from each bird of the

six regions were attached pendent to each stick with native cotton cord, with several precious beads strung on the cord, the length of the cord from the stick to the plumes being measured by the four fingers crosswise. My uncle also gave me medicine, which was a

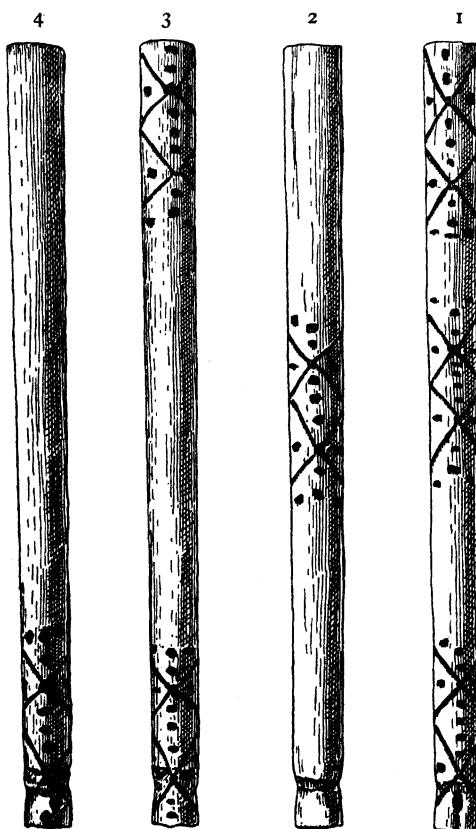


FIG. 14. — Split reeds used in *shóliwe*.

little black and a little white, to rub on my hands when I should be ready to play. It appeared like grease, but I do not know what it was. I spent the night with my uncle, while he taught me four old songs. He said, after I had learned the songs by heart, 'before you play the game, shut your mouth and sing the songs within your heart. After singing the songs once you may speak

with the man with whom you are to play, but you must again shut your mouth and sing the songs within your heart, and then you may play.'

"At sunrise the wife and the daughter of my uncle came into my room where my uncle and I had spent the night. The girl prepared a bowl of yucca suds and placed it immediately before me. I sat facing east and the wife stood behind me, placing a hand on either shoulder. The girl stood south of the bowl and faced it.

"When the suds were made they came and stood by me. My uncle was the first to dip two eagle plumes four times into the suds, each time drawing them forward over the top of my head. This was repeated by all present except the girl who prepared the suds. After the others had rubbed suds over my head with the plumes, she washed my hair thoroughly from the bowl, standing before me, and my uncle's wife rubbed my hair dry, while I was still in my seat. My uncle gave me four ears of corn—yellow, blue, red, and white—tied together, and enough calico for a shirt. He gave me the *télikyináwe* at the same time he gave me the game of *shóliwe* and the rhombus, before he taught me the songs. In giving me the corn and calico, he said, 'I give these to you that you may receive such things from the man with whom you play. Carry the *télikyináwe* a long distance to an arroyo where you find débris has collected from the running of water, and plant them to the Gods of War.' When I was within a few feet of the place I had selected for depositing my *télikyináwe*, I whirled my rhombus until I reached the spot where I planted them.

"I afterward returned the rhombus to my uncle, but kept the *shóliwe*¹ until the anniversary of the loss of my possession. [One must begin to play in the same month and on the same day of the month that the misfortune of loss occurred. Playing may be continued until the summer solstice, but no games must be played while the Ah'shiwanni are in retreat for rains. If success does not come to the player with the ceremonial reeds, he may ask for them another year and try his luck, in the meantime purifying his heart,

¹ It was the writer's good fortune to have two sets of ceremonial reeds presented to her by the elder- and the younger-brother Bow-priests. They are now in the National Museum.

for if the heart be good these reeds are believed to surely bring success.] I won back most of my lost articles, after which I returned the *shóliwe* to my uncle."

Each player takes the side of one of the Gods of War, two pieces of split reed representing the side of the elder God of War and two the younger God of War. The writer, for convenience, numbers the reeds 1, 2, 3, 4. (See figure 14.)

No. 1. Named *kwin'na* (black), has the concave side of the reed colored 'black, indicating morning, noon, and sunset, or the whole day. Three sets of lines on the convex side denote the three periods of the day — morning, noon, and sunset.

No. 2. *Áthluwa* (center), has a daub of black midway of the reed, concave side, denoting midday. The lines on the convex side also denote noon.

No. 3. *Kohakwa* (white shell), has a daub of black paint at either end of the concave side, indicating morning and evening, or sunrise and sunset. Lines on the convex side denote the same.

No. 4. *Páhlto* (mark on the end), has a daub of black paint on the joint end of the concave side, denoting sunrise, which to the Zuñi is the first light of day, or the white light which comes first; and the lines on the convex side indicate the same. Three dots are sometimes found on the joint of the reed, indicating eyes and mouth of the face which is not delineated. Other reeds have only two dots for the eyes.

Nos. 1 and 3 are said to belong to the elder God of War, and Nos. 2 and 4 to the younger God of War. The player representing the elder god holds No. 3 concave side up, and slides No. 2 into the groove of No. 3, the joint of No. 2 falling below that of No. 3. He then slides No. 4 into that of No. 2, also allowing the joint to extend below. No. 1 is held crosswise, the others at an acute angle (the reeds are sometimes crossed at right angles), with the groove side against the corresponding sides of the others, the joint to the left, and the opposite end projecting a little more than an inch beyond the group (figure 15). When the representative of the younger God of War plays he runs No. 3 into the groove of No. 2, and No. 1 into No. 3, and crosses them with

No. 4. The reed which crosses the others is designated as the thrower, but the same reed, as stated, is not used by both players. In this position the reeds are thrown upward against an inverted basket, ten or twelve inches in diameter, covered with a piece of blanket or cloth and suspended from the ceiling. The reeds strike

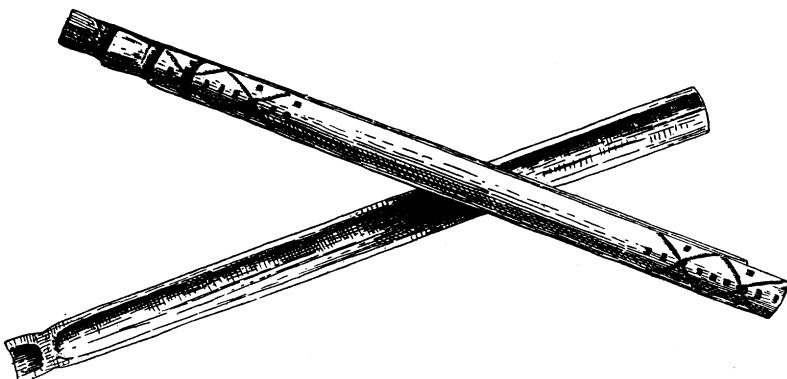


FIG. 15.—Method of placing reeds in playing *shóliwe*.

the cloth over the basket and fall to a blanket spread on the floor to receive them. If played out of doors, which is seldom the case at present, the basket is suspended above the blanket from the apex of three poles, arranged tripod fashion, with sufficient space beneath for the blanket and players.

When the representative of the elder God of War throws, and the concave side of No. 1 and the convex sides of the others are up, the trick is won; or if No. 1 be convex side up with the others concave up, the trick is won. If No. 1 crosses No. 3, or vice versa, convex sides up, the trick is won, even should one cross the other by but a hair's breadth. If Nos. 2 and 4 should be crossed as described, the trick goes to the opponent. If all convex sides are up, or vice versa, the trick is lost. If the convex side of No. 3 is up, and the others have the concave sides up, the trick belongs to the opponent.

When the representative of the younger God of War plays, the counts are reversed. Silver buttons are the favorite "chips" for the game.

Though *shóliwe* is the favorite of the lot games of the elder Ah'shiwi, it being the game of the professional gamblers¹ of the pueblo, there is no thought of personal gain when it is played by the Ah'shiwanni for rains.² At this time great ceremony is observed and buckskins are used in place of the cloth covering over the basket and the blanket on the floor. The skin on the floor has the head to the east; a broken circle forming a quadrant is drawn on the skin.

The gambling den of Zuñi was as notorious and was regarded with the same aversion as a place of similar character would be in civilization. The more profligate characters who depend upon gaming for their livelihood spent much of their time in this den, which was one of the old interior rooms of the pueblo. The room was reached by a ladder through a hatchway, and if the memory of the writer is correct (she failed to make a note of this particular point), the room was dimly lighted with a small window of selenite, near the ceiling. The hatchway was covered with a straw mat, upon which an eye was kept, that there might be no intruders.

The writer first visited this den in 1896. Her unannounced arrival was a surprise to the eight or ten men present, who appeared to be much annoyed; but when informed that she had come to observe the game and not to denounce them for their profligacy, a sigh of relief escaped them.

There is but little ceremony associated with the game when played by the professional or other gamblers. The most abandoned, however, would not dare to play without first offering prayers to the Gods of War, invoking their blessing, and breathing on their reeds. The professional gamblers show in their faces deep lines and other in-

¹ After an absence of six years the writer found, on her return in 1902, that the Zuñi gambling house was a thing of the past, and that the game of *shóliwe* was not nearly so frequently played as formerly, either ceremonially or for pure pleasure.

² The reader who has perused "Chess and Playing-cards," by Stewart Culin (*Report of the U. S. National Museum*, 1896), will note the difference between the explanation of *shóliwe* as found in that publication and that which is given here. For example: "Formerly *shóliwe* was exclusively a game of war divination and was played only by the Priests of the Bow and members of the esoteric society of the war shamans." According to Zuñi belief *shóliwe* was played by the Divine Ones (Gods of War) and the Ah'shiwanni for rain soon after they reached this world and long before the creation of the Bow priesthood.

dications of dissipation, although they lose no more rest than (perhaps not so much as) the Ah'shiwanni and the theurgists ; yet, aside from the anxiety associated with gaming as an almost perpetual pastime, the inveterate gamblers, like other people not altogether lost to a sense of right, must have the consciousness of doing wrong, while, on the other hand, the rain priests and theurgists have the satisfaction of realizing that they are propitiating their gods, not only for their own good but for the good of all — not only for their own people, but for all the world.

IĀNKOLO'WE

Implements. — Small stone disk, less than two inches in diameter, colored black on one side ; four cups, a ball and straws. “ In the old, a grain of corn was used instead of the ball ; ” and the corn is still used when the game is offered to the Gods of War.

The four cups are placed on their sides close together in a row, the openings to the east. The disk, ball, and bunch of straws are

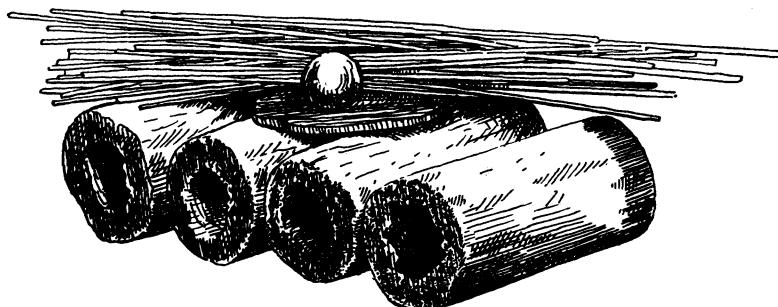


FIG. 16. — Implements used in *iānkolo'we*.

laid on top of the cups (figure 16). This arrangement before playing the game is observed by all men of any standing in the tribe, “ for it was so with the Gods of War.”

Each party chooses a side of the disk before it is thrown. The side up designates the starter of the game, who represents the side of the elder God of War. He sits facing south and forms a square with the four cups before him. The ball is secreted in one of the cups.¹ The elder God of War always placed his cups in the form

¹ Although this game is common in other pueblos, the writer has not observed cups of the very dainty type elsewhere than in Zufi. They are usually clumsy and unfinished.

of a square. The other party, who sits facing north, chooses from the cup nearest to him, taking the one to the west. If the chosen cup contains the ball he must pay ten straws to the starter, who again arranges the cups, and the cup to the east and in line nearest the chooser is taken. Should this cup not contain the ball, the chooser lays it with open end to the east and selects another cup. Should this cup contain the ball, he forfeits six straws, when the starter again arranges the cups. When a cup containing the ball is chosen, six straws must be paid. Should the first, second, and third cups selected be minus the ball, they are laid with the open ends to the east; the fourth cup, containing the ball, is allowed to stand, four straws are forfeited, and the cups are rearranged. Should the third cup chosen contain the ball, no payment is made and the arranging of the game passes to the other party, who represents the side of the younger God of War. He forms three points of a triangle with three cups and places the extra cup to the eastern point, "for so the younger God of War placed his game." When all the straws have passed to one party, the game, upon which heavy wagers are often made, is won.

HÄ'POÄNNĒ PÍHL'KWANÁWE

Implements.—Bow and arrows; an oval roll of green corn-husks.

Any number may play this game. A *hä'poännē* (roll of husks) is placed upon the ground and arrows are shot at it from a distance of forty or fifty feet (figure 17). The first player to strike the roll covers it with a mound of earth, very much larger than the roll itself, while the others turn their backs. The one who places the *hä'poännē* is almost sure to mark the exact location of it, hence he resorts to various devices to mislead the players. A favorite deception is to leave the mound low where the roll is actually buried, having it more elevated at some other point. The players aim to shoot their arrows into the *hä'poännē*, and the one who strikes wins the game. The winner draws the husk from beneath

The Zuñi, at least those who play the game according to the supposed teachings of the Gods of War, have their cups well cut and not more than three or four inches high. The cup is painted white and capped with black, each cup being tipped at the closed end with fluffy eagle plumes. The ball used is the size of a small marble.

the earth with the arrow. When the arrow strikes the mound but does not touch the *hä'poännë*, it is removed by the one who secretes the object, and a second player shoots his arrow. Each player

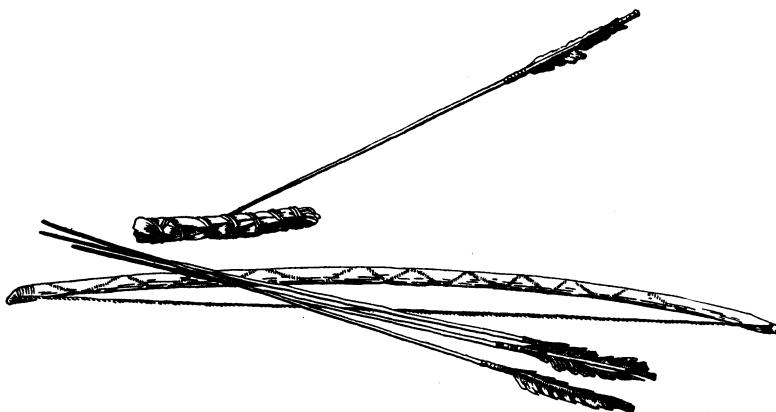


FIG. 17.—Implements used in *hä'poännë pihl'kwanáwe*.

takes his turn until the *hä'poännë* is struck, the one having the arrangement of it being the last one to shoot, and he is naturally the most frequent winner. This game affords great amusement to the younger men.

SAÍA^THLÄT'AWE. (HORNS KILL, OR KILLING THE RABBIT.)

Six goat-horns are placed in line on the ground an equal distance apart (figure 18), and the players stand some rods away. The



FIG. 18.—Implements used in *saíat'hlät'awe*.

game is begun by a player starting to run and throwing a rabbit-stick toward the horns. He is entitled to as many horns as he strikes, and may continue to throw the stick as long as he is successful.

in striking a horn ; but when he fails to strike one, another plays. The one who strikes the largest number of horns wins the game.¹

SHÓWIÄLTOWE

Shówiältowe may be played by any number of persons, each one being provided with several arrows. Holding it between his index and middle finger and thumb, the first player throws an arrow a distance of some ten or twelve feet (figure 19). Then a second player

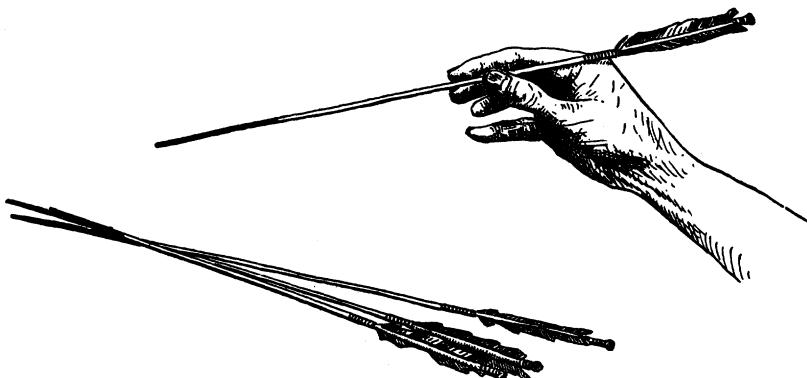


FIG. 19.—Method of holding arrow in playing *shówiältowe*.

throws, aiming to have the feathers on his arrowshaft touch those of the one already on the ground. If he is successful he takes both arrows and makes another throw, when the next player aims at the arrow on the ground ; if he fails the arrows remain in place and another player throws ; and so on, each man taking the arrows which are touched by his own. Sometimes considerable dispute arises as to whether the feathers are really in contact, the men stooping and examining the arrows with the closest scrutiny.

If all the arrows fall apart, each player takes his own from the ground and a new game is begun. The taker of the full number of arrows wins the game.

LÁPOCHIWE

Implements.—Three pencil-like sticks ; three reeds the length of the sticks, one of them with a sharpened stick projecting ; and one longer reed (designated the chief) having a pointed stick attached

¹ Dr Walter Hough, of the National Museum, observed this game played by Indians in Mexico.

to the end. Two fluffy feathers are attached to each reed and stick¹ (figure 20).



FIG. 20.—Plumed sticks used in playing *lápochiwe*.

Three sometimes play with the number of reeds and sticks mentioned, but when more than two play it is usual to increase the number of sticks, although in the genuine game of the Gods of War the number cannot exceed seven.

The one proposing the game divides the six smaller reeds and sticks between his opponent and himself, and throws the "chief." The game is played like *shówiáltowe*, except that the players are seated and throw a comparatively short distance. *Lápochiwe* is one of the favorite indoor games.

HÓTKÄMONNÉ

Implements.—Two slender sticks, each passed through a piece of corn-cob. The stick is sharpened at one end and has

¹ The string tied to the second stick from the right in the figure has no significance.

two hawk plumes inserted in the other end. A ball of yucca ribbons (figure 21).

The yucca ball is placed on the ground and the sticks are thrown at it from a short distance. The ball must be penetrated. If the first player strikes the ball, the stick is allowed to remain in place

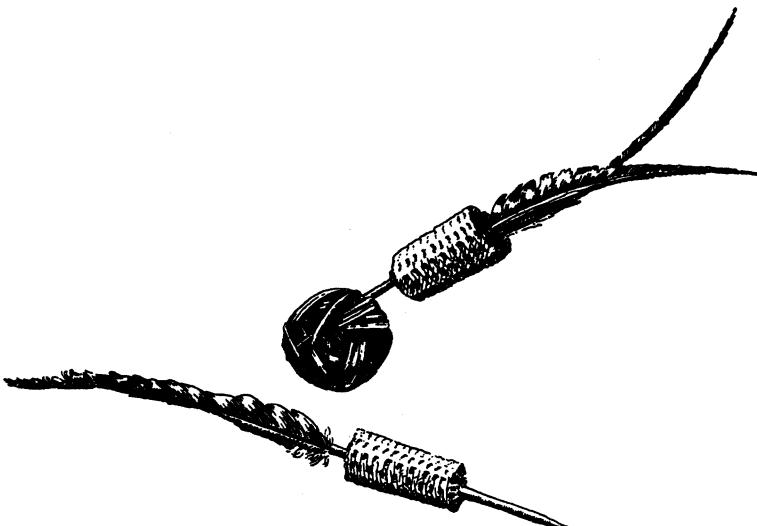


FIG. 21.—Implements used in *hō'kāmonnē*.

until the other party plays. If both sticks strike the ball, it is a draw. If the second stick fails to strike, it remains where it falls and the first player removes his stick from the ball and throws again. The one who strikes the ball the greater number of times wins the game.

Hō'kāmonnē is one of the most precious games of the Zuñi, it being among those offered to the Gods of War at the winter solstice. The game is frequently played for rains, and when it occurs in this connection sacred meal is sprinkled on the ground before the ball is placed; the one who first penetrates the ball lifts it by the stick, and, drawing a breath from it, offers thanks to the gods that the rains are soon to come.

PÓ'KIÄNNAWE, "JACKRABBITS HIT." (SHUTTLECOCK AND BATTLEDORE.)

Implements.—Corn-husks neatly interlaced into a square of about an inch and a half, with two delicate feathers projecting from the center (figure 22).

Pó'ki nänanē (pl. *pó'ki ännáwe*) is so named because the sound produced by a shuttlecock coming in contact with the palm of the hand is similar to the noise of the tread of the jackrabbit upon frozen snow.



FIG. 22.—Implements used in *pó'kiännanē*.

The game is played as frequently by the younger boys as by their elders, and always for stakes.

One bets that he can toss the shuttlecock a given number of times. While ten is the number specially associated with the game, the wagers are often made for twenty, fifty, and sometimes a hundred throws. In case of failure the other player tries his skill, each party alternating in the game until one or the other tosses the shuttlecock (only one hand being used) the given number of times, which entitles him to the game.

The Zuñi claim that this game originated with them.

T'SÍKON-YÄ'MUNÉ TÍKWANÉ

Implements.—Slender sticks the length of an arrowshaft, zigzagged in black, symbolic of lightning; a ring, about two and a half inches in diameter, composed of yucca ribbons, and a *tíkwané*¹ or racing stick (figure 23). (See the first game mentioned.)

This is a foot-race, run only by order of the Ah'wan tā'tchu (Great Father) Kóyemshi, and is exclusively for rains.

¹ The *tíkwané* is similar to the upper specimen in figure 13 and has no string around the middle as shown in figure 23.

A chosen number of women, each supplied with a stick, stand in line to the left of a number of men. The latter are provided with a *tikwanē*, which they kick; and the women who play against the men use a yucca ring, tossing it with their sticks. Though the distance covered is short the latter seldom win.

'Sikon-yä' munë-tikwanë is rarely played at the present time, and as the writer was not so fortunate as to observe the game, she cannot describe it in detail.

'KÄSH'TUWIWI

Two files of men hold one another around the waist, the leaders of the two sides clasping hands, and in this position they jump about the plaza. At times the men separate and form into vis-a-vis lines, and, clasping hands, jump back and forth.

This game is played by the Kóyemshi and members of the Néwekwe fraternity between the dances of the personators of the anthropomorphic gods. It brings great delight to the spectators.

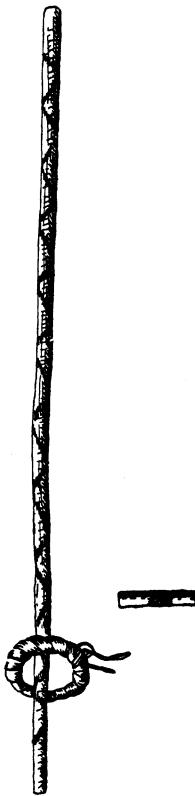


FIG. 23.—Implements used in *sikon-yä' munë tikwanë*.

YÁCHONI "SÁWA"KA. ("FULL-DRESS YOUNG MAN.") "RING-AROUND-A-ROSY."

This is one of the games played in the sacred plaza by the Kóyemshi and Néwekwe, between the dances. A circle is formed, the men clasping hands, with one in the middle, who aims to catch one of the others as they jump around. He is frequently whispered to as to whom to chose. When one is caught he takes his place within the circle and his predecessor leaves the game altogether. When the number is reduced to three, the amusement increases, and reaches its height when but two are left. These hop about, each on one foot; the one who first becomes exhausted joins his fellows, who are grouped on one side of the plaza, when the remaining one must hop to the group before placing his other foot on the ground in order to win the contest.

At times all the players hop on one foot, each endeavoring to outdo the others in remaining longest in the field.

During these games the Kóyemshi and Néwekwe frequently indulge in jokes which are usually of a very innocent nature, but occasionally they are gross in the extreme.

PÓPONĒ. (WOOL-BAG OR BALL.)

This game is also played by the Kóyemshi and the Néwekwe fraternity during the intermission of the dances.

Two sides are formed in line, and a man runs out from one side and turns his back to his opponents, one of whom advances and throws a small bag filled with wool. If he succeeds in striking the one who has his back turned, the latter must join the side of the one who strikes; but should the one endeavoring to strike be hit from the other side before he returns to his ranks, he must pass to his opponent's side.

These children of nature appear to derive as much real enjoyment from this game as the children of civilization do from their game of tag.

TÁ-SHOLIWE. (WOOD REEDS.)

Implements. — Three staves colored red or black on one side, white or uncolored on the other; forty small stones, a stone disk, straws or slender strips of wood.

The forty stones are laid in quadrants, with a disk in the center. Two to four generally play, but the number is not limited to four. The players sit in a circle. The staves are held vertically over the disk and thrown downward with force (plate XLIX). The three colored sides up entitle the player to move by ten of the stones. The three uncolored (including white) sides up give the player five moves. Two uncolored and one colored up give the player three moves; two colored and one uncolored entitle the player to two moves. The counters being moved in opposite directions sometimes meet, and when a player reaches a point already occupied by a counter, "he is killed" and must begin again at the starting point. The one first around the circle wins the game provided his count does not carry him beyond the starting point, in which event he must

continue going around until his counter reaches the doorway, or "spring," as the opening is often called.¹

PÓPONÉ "KAP'NANÉ. ("BALL HIT.")

This game is the same as shinny or bandy, and is a favorite betting game. The ball is usually made of buckskin. The Zuñi claim that the game came from Mexico long ago.

TĀN'KALAWÉ

This is similar to quoits, and is played as frequently by young boys as by their elders. Any number may play, and groups of boys of all ages derive great pleasure from watching the game. The stakes are placed on a corn-cob (or sometimes on a stone) planted in the ground. The players throw a stone disk, aiming to strike a line marked on the ground. The one coming nearest it has the privilege of throwing first at the stake. If the corn-cob is knocked over and the disk remains by it, the thrower has another chance; if the disk goes beyond the corn-cob, he loses; if it falls short of the cob, he wins. This game also, the Zuñi claim, came from Mexico.

AWE "HLÁCNAWE. ("STONES KILL.")

Implements.—A number of small stones (a different color for each side), and geometrical markings on a stone slab or on the ground.

There is no specified size for the "board," it being larger or smaller according to the number of angles. The stones are placed

¹ *Tásholiwe* (*táwe*, wood; *shóliwe*, arrow reeds) is played extensively by the Zuñi, although the writer has never observed the more prominent men playing it. Notwithstanding the Zuñi claim that they adopted the game from the Navaho, the Sia Indians, who call it *wáshkasi*, regard it as one of their oldest games. Instead of the circle they form a square ten stones on a side. (See "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*.) Dr E. B. Tylor, in his paper on "American Lot Games as Evidence of Asiatic Intercourse Before the Time of Columbus," refers at length to this game, giving a diagram of it as played by the Apache Indians, which is identical with the form of the game as played by the Zuñi. Mr Culin, in "Chess and Playing Cards," calls attention to a form of *tá-sholiwe* known as *tem-thla-nah-na-ta-sho-li-we*, "of all the regions wood-canapes." The writer has not discovered any such form as described by Mr Culin, but a Zuñi will sometimes, when he wishes to play *shóliwe*, refer to the canes as *tém'tla nána shóliwe*, literally "all grandfathers arrow-reeds," i. e., "reeds of our forefathers."



MARY IRVIN WRIGHT.

THE ZUNI GAME OF TÁSHOLIWE

on all the intersections of the geometrical [drawing except the central one. The first player moves to the center, where his "man" is jumped by his opponent. The stones may be moved in any direction so long as the lines are followed.¹

¹ The Zuñi also make the checker-board within a circle, and in this case they have the advantage of resorting to the periphery when cornered. Some of the older men of Zuñi declare that this game, when it came originally to Zuñi from Mexico, was played with one set of stones and a stick for the opposite side, and that the use of the double set of stones is an innovation of their own. The writer observed the Africans at the Buffalo Exposition, in 1901, play on a crude slab of wood marked in squares, each alternate square being colored black. This game was identical with the modern game of checkers, with the exception that twenty men are used on each side. One player, who spoke English well, told the writer that his people had always played the game, the board with them being marked by having alternate squares excavated on a heavy slab of wood. At this point the African became too excited over his success in capturing a king to make further explanation.